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The Date and Context of Robert of Torigni's *Chronica* in London, British Library, Cotton MS. Domitian A. VIII, ff. 71r-94v

Benjamin Pohl

London, British Library, Cotton MS. Domitian A. VIII is a composite manuscript consisting of ten discrete booklets, which were bound together in their present form for Sir Robert Cotton in the seventeenth century. The texts contained in these booklets were written down at various stages between the final quarter of the eleventh and the first half of the seventeenth century. Today, this manuscript is perhaps best known by scholars for its ff. 30r-70v, which present an imperfect version of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* following MS. F.¹ The present article, however, focuses on ff. 71r-94v, which contain a partial copy of the *Chronica*, that is, a twelfth-century continuation of Sigebert of Gembloux's 'World History' composed by the Norman abbot-historian, Robert of Torigni (†c.1186). Robert began his career in 1128 as a monk of Le Bec in Normandy where, as a young man, he made his profession to Abbot Boso (1124-36).² In 1149, Robert advanced to the rank of prior, and in 1154 was elected abbot of Mont-Saint-Michel, where he spent the remainder of his life and finished the *Chronica* in 1186.

The *Chronica*'s two most recent editors, Léopold Delisle and Richard Howlett, have expressed rather different interpretations concerning the text's manuscript tradition, including

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¹ See the comprehensive discussion of the manuscript in the introduction to *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Collaborative Edition*, vol. viii: *MS F, a Semi-Diplomatic Edition with Introduction and Indices*, ed. P. S. Baker (Cambridge, 2000), pp. ix-xxvii. The transmission history of MS. Domitian A. VIII was reassessed by P. J. Lucas, 'Cotton MS Domitian A. viii, The F-Version of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* and William Camden', *Notes and Queries*, xlviii (2001), pp. 98-9; also cf. the response by J. Harrison, 'William Camden and the F-Text of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*', *Notes and Queries*, liv (2007), pp. 222-4.

² He can probably be identified as one of the two Roberts who are mentioned as 'Robertus abbas' in Le Bec's twelfth-century professions list (*Nomina monachorum Beccii*), Vatican, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, MS. Reg. lat. 499, f. 10v, l. 13 and f. 11r, l. 3 (a fifteenth-century copy); also cf. A.-A. Porée, *Histoire de l'abbaye du Bec*, 2 vols (Evreux, 1901), vol. i, pp. 633-4. On the different aspects of Robert's career, see *Chronique de Robert de Torigni: Abbé du Mont-Saint-Michel*, ed. L. Delisle, 2 vols (Rouen, 1872-3), vol. ii, pp. i-xiii; *The Gesta Normannorum Ducum of William of Jumièges, Orderic Vitalis, and Robert of Torigni*, ed. E. M. C. van Houts, Oxford Medieval Texts, 2 vols (Oxford, 1992-5), vol. i, pp. lxxvii-ix; D. Bates, 'Robert of Torigni and the *Historia Anglorum*', in D. Roffe (ed.), *The English and their Legacy, 900-1200: Essays in Honour of Ann Williams* (Woodbridge, 2012), pp. 175-84; B. Pohl, 'Abbas qui et scriptor? The Handwriting of Robert of Torigni and his Scribal Activity as Abbot of Mont-Saint-Michel (1154-1186)', *Traditio*, lxix (2014), pp. 45-86. On Abbot Boso, see V. Gazeau, *Normannia monastica* (Xe-XIIIe siècle), 2 vols (Caen, 2007), vol. ii, pp. 16-18.

their respective treatments of MS. Domitian A. VIII.³ Both recognized that MS. Domitian A. VIII does not represent Robert's original autograph, but a subsequent copy. Where and when precisely this copy was made, however, are questions that were conflictingly answered by the two editors: Delisle dated the manuscript to the end of the twelfth century ('copié à la fin du XIIe siècle'),⁴ whereas Howlett calls it 'a thirteenth-century copy'.⁵ Delisle conjectured that MS. Domitian A. VIII might have come to Le Bec directly from Mont-Saint-Michel, and he adopted this view from Conrad Bethmann, the *Chronica*'s previous editor for the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*.⁶ Howlett, by contrast, refuted this idea, arguing that MS. Domitian A. VIII cannot derive from Robert's own working copy of the *Chronica* (today Avranches, Bibliothèque Municipale MS. 159), but instead must go back to what he calls 'the author's rough draft'.⁷ This draft, Howlett argues further, was produced at Mont-Saint-Michel, then lent to Le Bec, copied there, and eventually returned to Mont-Saint-Michel, whilst the copy made at Le Bec was later lent to the monks of Long Bennington, Lincolnshire, who, in turn, copied it during the thirteenth century, thereby producing MS. Domitian A. VIII. This version of events is based, first and foremost, on a fourteenth-century note of ownership that occurs, albeit in a heavily mutilated state, at the bottom of the text's opening folio (f. 71r); this places it at Long Bennington and, more specifically, in the possession of Nicholas Trivet.⁸ It was Trivet who, according to Howlett, later 'returned' MS. Domitian A. VIII to Mont-Saint-Michel.

Howlett's conclusion, contrary to that of Bethmann – and by extension also that of Delisle – is that there were two manuscripts of the *Chronica* present at Mont-Saint-Michel, 'each in a sense original, one being used for the completion, the other for the multiplication of copies'.⁹ Whilst it is of course possible, and indeed rather likely, that the *Chronica* would have existed in several different versions or redactions during the second half of the twelfth century, Howlett's deductions nevertheless need to be modified. As I will now demonstrate there is in fact concrete evidence to suggest that Bethmann and Delisle were correct in their initial conjecture. The palaeographical and codicological characteristics of MS. Domitian A. VIII provide strong evidence that this manuscript was indeed copied directly from MS. Avranches 159 rather than through intermediate copies. In addition, I will show that it is possible to pinpoint the exact date when this copy was made. In order to do this, we need to revisit and review the basic manuscript evidence in greater detail, beginning with the letter that accompanies the copy of the *Chronica* in MS. Domitian A. VIII.

This letter, which survives on f. 71r, is addressed to Abbot Roger of Le Bec (1149-79). It was composed by Robert himself but was certainly not written by his own hand.¹⁰ Delisle presents this letter as a later copy, made during the final years of the twelfth or the opening of the thirteenth century,¹¹ presumably on the basis of the lost original which originally accompanied the excerpt of the *Chronica* that Robert sent to Le Bec. This is a plausible suggestion and one that is in fact corroborated by the surviving manuscript evidence: the hand that wrote MS. Domitian A. VIII, f. 71r shows all the characteristics of a particular kind of Norman (or Gothic) script that became

³ *Chronique*, ed. Delisle, vol. i, pp. xlii-iii; *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard I*, vol. IV.4, ed. R. Howlett, *Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores*, 82.4 (London, 1889), pp. xli-iv. Thomas Bisson is currently preparing a new and much-anticipated critical edition of the *Chronica*.

⁴ *Chronique*, ed. Delisle, vol. i, p. xlii.

⁵ *Chronicles*, ed. Howlett, p. xliii.

⁶ 'Sigiberti Gemblacensis chronica cum continuationibus', ed. C. Bethmann, in *Chronica et annales aevi Salici*, ed. G. H. Pertz, *MGH Scriptores*, 6 (Hannover, 1844), pp. 268-474 (p. 295): *Codex S. Michaelis de Periculo Maris, iam Musei Britannici inter Cottonianos Domitian*. 8; also cf. *ibid.*, pp. 282-3. The text of the *Chronica* is edited *ibid.*, pp. 475-535.

⁷ *Chronicles*, ed. Howlett, p. xlii.

⁸ *Ibid.* Also cf. *Chronique*, ed. Delisle, vol. i, p. xlii-iii.

⁹ *Chronicles*, ed. Howlett, p. xliii.

¹⁰ On the identification of Robert's handwriting, see Pohl, 'Abbas', pp. 77-8.

¹¹ *Chronique*, ed. Delisle, vol. i, p. xliii: 'Sur la première page de ces cahiers, une main de la fin du xiie ou du commencement du xiiie siècle, a copié une lettre de Robert de Torigni'.

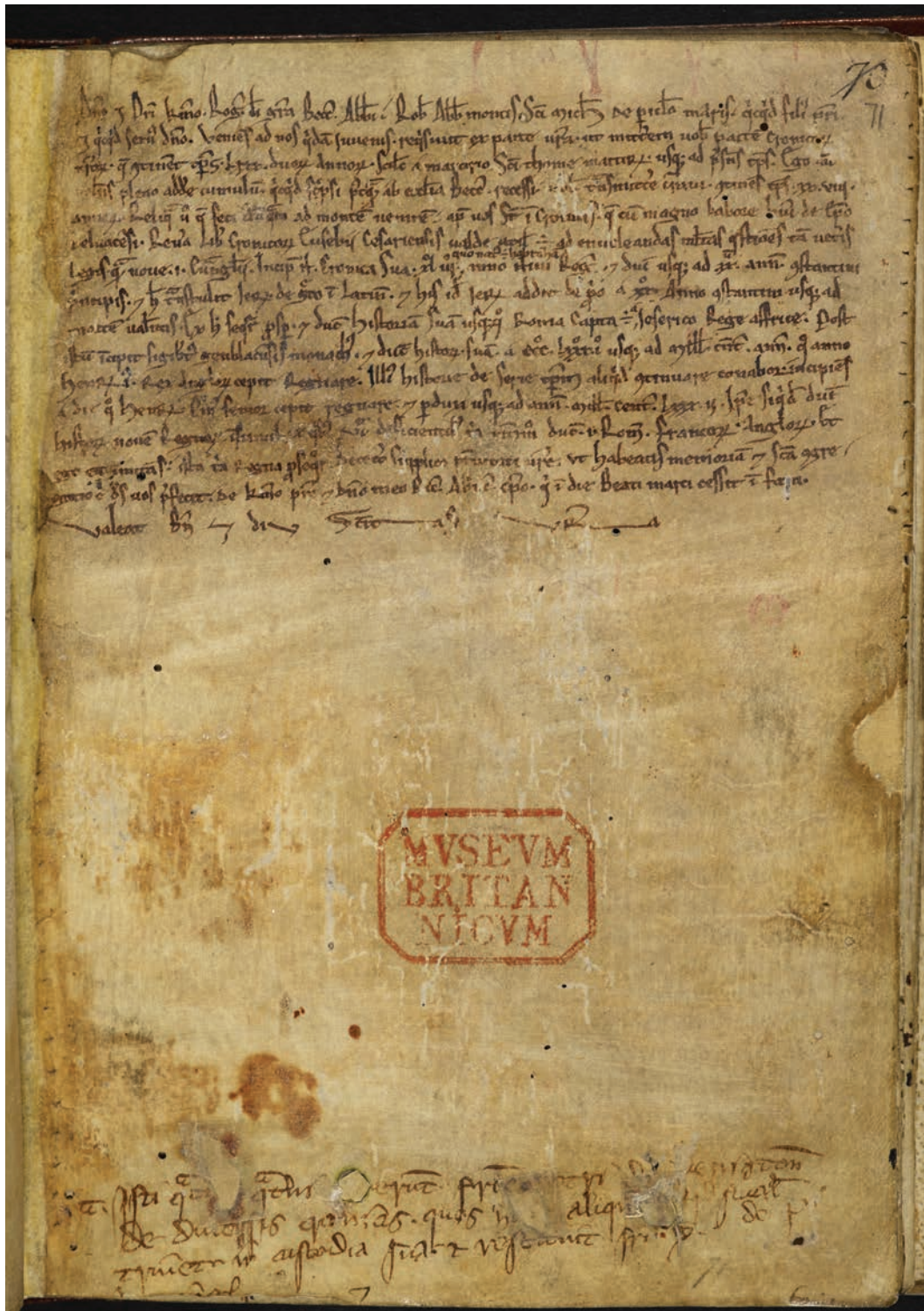


Fig. 1. London, British Library, Cotton MS. Domitian A. VIII, f. 71r (Copy of Robert's letter).

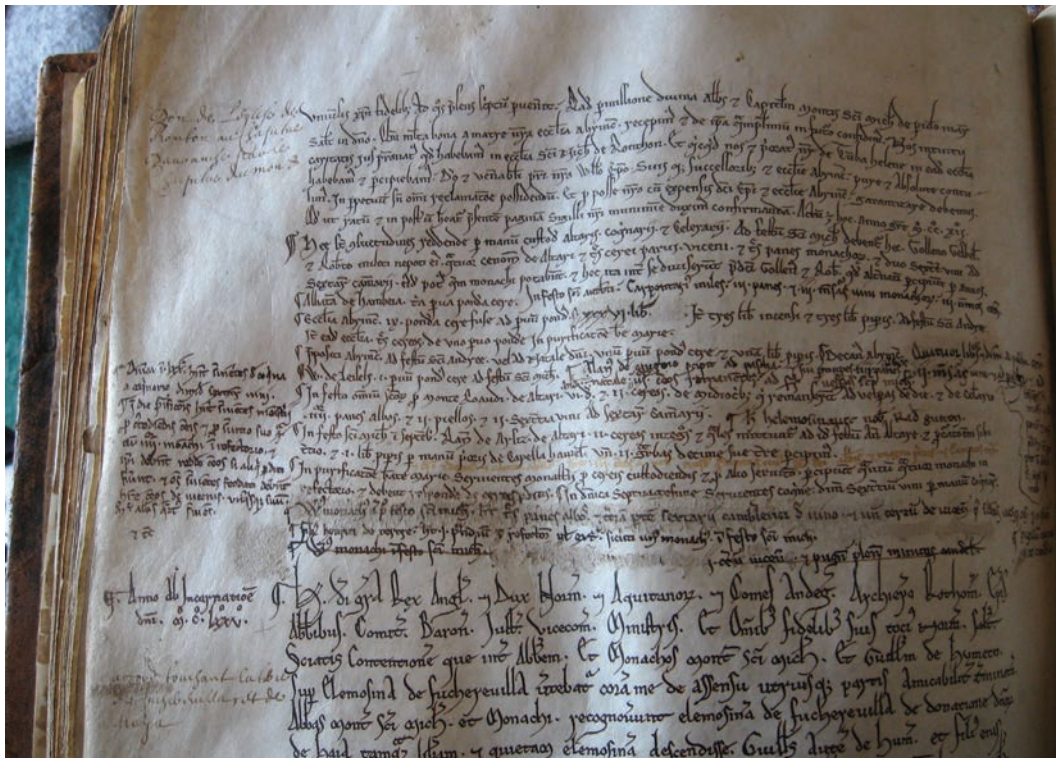


Fig. 2. Avranches, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS. 210, f. 124v (Cartulary of Mont-Saint-Michel).

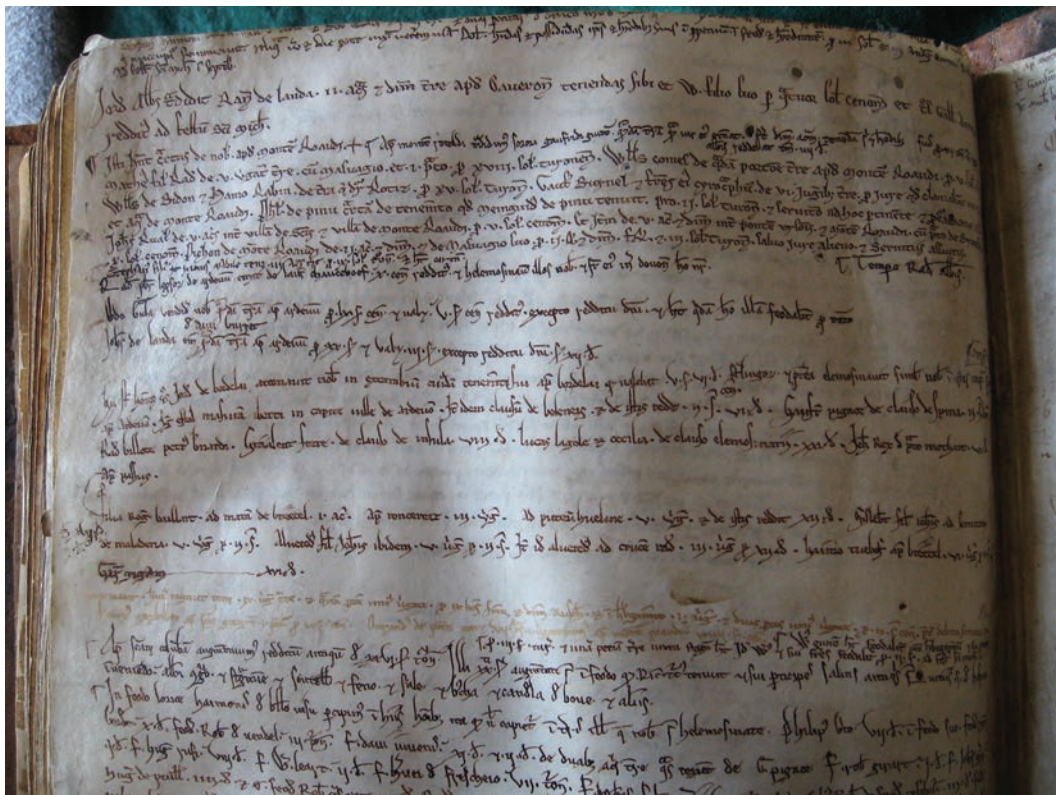


Fig. 3. Avranches, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS. 210, f. 128v (Cartulary of Mont-Saint-Michel).

common at Mont-Saint-Michel, as well as elsewhere, between the end of the twelfth and the middle of the thirteenth centuries (fig. 1). Similar hands can be found in other manuscripts made in the same monastery, including the Cartulary of Mont-Saint-Michel (Avranches, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS. 210). The Cartulary has had its codicological features scrutinized in great detail by Katherine Keats-Rohan.¹² From f. 112v onwards, but particularly between ff. 124v and 129r, we see scribal hands that share several key features with the one responsible for MS. Domitian A. VIII, f. 71r. Perhaps the most similar piece of handwriting occurs in some of the charters on f. 124v and f. 128v respectively (figs 2, 3).¹³

Keats-Rohan has argued compellingly that the Cartulary in its original form, produced under one of Robert's predecessors, Abbot Bernard (1131-49), only comprised the fourteen quires that, following the manuscript's fourteenth- or fifteenth-century re-foliation and seventeenth-century rebinding, today constitute ff. 5r-115r (with the last piece of 'original writing' occurring on f. 112r).¹⁴ Folios 116r-123v have been identified as a subsequent addition, which were followed later by the separate addition of ff. 124r-129v: a quire consisting not of four, but of three bifolia.¹⁵ The dating of this quire (or trinion) is less straightforward than that of the manuscript's earlier parts.¹⁶ However, the content of the charters copied in MS. Avranches 210, ff. 124v and 128v respectively can provide us with at least a *terminus post quem* for the hand(s) that wrote them. The first of the two actually carries a date, namely 1212 ('Actum est hoc anno gratiae m^o cc^o xii^o').¹⁷ The second charter, whilst lacking a similar date, can be dated roughly on the basis of its issuing authority, Abbot Jordan of Mont-Saint-Michel (1191-1212).¹⁸ The similarities between the hand(s) that copied these two charters and that which wrote the letter in MS. Domitian A. VIII, f. 71r are strong enough to suggest that they belong, if not to the same individual, then at least to more or less contemporary scribes. Even if we recognize the generally conservative nature of handwriting styles, and allow for the possibility that significant amounts of variation can occur even within the same generation of scribes, the *terminus post quem* of c.1212 as established above makes it difficult to reconcile the date of MS. Domitian A. VIII, f. 71r with Robert's abbacy (1154-86), let alone to identify the letter as an original document. Delisle's characterization of the letter as a later copy can thus be confirmed with confidence. Nuancing his hypothesis further, we can now state that the likely place of origin of this copy was either Mont-Saint-Michel or a closely related monastery that shared similar scribal traditions, such as Le Bec.

Having narrowed down the letter's date and probable place of transcription, we now need to turn to its content, which, due to its relevance, will be quoted in full here:

To Roger, the beloved lord and father, by the grace of God abbot of Le Bec, from Robert, abbot of Mont-Saint-Michel in the peril of the sea, in all things a son of the Father and servant of God. Having been approached by a certain youth on your behalf, we were asked to send you parts of our *Chronica* (which [by now] contains the events of eighty-two years), more precisely those between the martyrdom of Saint Thomas [Becket] the Martyr and the present day. I would rather you had the whole work, however, so I arranged that you should receive everything I have written since retiring from the Church of Le Bec, which contains the events of twenty-eight years. The remainder, which I wrote before leaving for Mont-

¹² K. S. B. Keats-Rohan, *The Cartulary of the Abbey of Mont-Saint-Michel* (Donington, 2006). Also K. S. B. Keats-Rohan, 'Bibliothèque municipale d'Avranches, 210: Cartulary of Mont-Saint-Michel', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, xxi (1999), pp. 95-112.

¹³ See particularly the shape of miniscule 'g' (with its long, shallow, curved tail protruding far into the space occupied by the preceding letters to the left); the angular, trapezium-shaped majuscule 'A'; the curved, double-hooked majuscule 'S' (almost resembling an inverted question mark), miniscule 's' in final position; *et*-ligatures.

¹⁴ Keats-Rohan, *Cartulary*, p. 8.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ Unfortunately, Keats-Rohan's thorough analysis of Bernard's 'original Cartulary' and its early additions does not find its parallel in her treatment of the manuscript's post-1159 elements, which she dismisses as an 'undesirable distraction' and thus omits from her edition (p. 4).

¹⁷ MS. Avranches 210, f. 124v, l. 6.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, f. 128v, l. 3. On Jordan, see Gazeau, *Normannia monastica*, vol. ii, pp. 226-7.

Saint-Michel, is still with you in the book of annals that I obtained with great efforts from the bishop of Beauvais. In fact, the Chronicle of Eusebius of Caesarea is [also] extremely useful, as it explains in great detail many questions concerning both the old and the new laws [or The Old and New Testament], that is, the Gospels. His Chronicle begins with the forty-third year of King Ninus's reign, the year Abraham was born, and it continues until the twentieth year of Prince Constantine. This was translated from Greek into Latin by Jerome, who himself added to it the events from the twentieth year of Constantine to the death of Valentius. From here on continues Prosper, who extended his Chronicle up to the time when Rome was captured by King Genseric of Africa. Where he ends continues Sigebert, monk of Gembloux, who in his Chronicle traces the events from 381 to 1100, the year in which King Henry I of the English began to reign. It is his [Sigebert's] narration of events that I attempted to continue to some degree, beginning with the year in which Henry I the Elder began to reign, and following through all the way to the year 1182. Indeed, he himself brings together the history of nine kingdoms, six of which have become extinct, whereas only three have prevailed, namely that of the Romans, that of the Franks and that of the English. And by imitating him [Sigebert], I pursue [the history of] these three kingdoms. In other matters, I humbly beseech your fatherly care, so that you may commemorate, together with the sacred congregation of which God has put you in charge, the most beloved father and lord of mine, Bishop Richard of Avranches, who died on the day of the blessed Marc. Farewell, and long be your virtue.¹⁹

There are several pieces of relevant information contained here. The first concerns the reason for the letter's composition in the first place. Apparently Robert had been approached by a messenger (presumably a young monk) sent by Abbot Roger of Le Bec, who requested a copy not of Robert's entire *Chronica*, but only – and explicitly so – of its account of the events that had occurred since 1170 ('a martirio sancti Thomae martiris usque ad praesens tempus'). As Robert specifies in the letter, the library of Le Bec already possessed an earlier version of the *Chronica*, namely one which he had himself composed prior to 1154 and which had remained on site even after his departure.

Today we know that, in the meantime, an anonymous monk of Le Bec had set out to continue Robert's *Chronica* in the shape of the so-called *Continuatio Beccensis*.²⁰ This continuation extended the annual narrative as far as 1160 ending with the death of Bishop Robert of Exeter. Robert seems to have been unaware of this, and thus decided to send the abbot of his old monastery a copy of his *Chronica* that covered the entirety of the years 1154-82, almost as if in

¹⁹ MS. Domitian A. VIII, f. 71r, my translation; for the Latin text, cf. *Chronique*, ed. Delisle, vol. ii, pp. 340-1: 'Domino et patri karissimo Rogerio, Dei gratia Beccensi abbatis, Robertus abbas Montis Sancti Michaelis de periculo maris, quicquid filius patri et quicquid servus domino. Veniens ad nos quidam iuvenis requisivit ex parte vestra, ut mitterem vobis partem cronicorum nostrorum, quae continent tempus lxxxii annorum, scilicet a martirio sancti Thomae martiris usque ad praesens tempus. Ego autem, volens pleno addere cumulum, quicquid scripsi postquam ab ecclesia Beccensi recessi, vobis transmittere curavi, continens tempus xxviii annorum. Reliqua vero quae feci antequam ad Montem venire, apud vos sunt in cronicis quae cum magno labore habui de episcopo Belvacensi. Revera liber cronicorum Eusebii Caesariensis valde utilis est ad enucleandas multas quaestiones tam veteris legis quam novae, id est evangelii. Incipit enim cronica sua xliiio anno Nini regis, quo natus est Habraham, et duxit usque xx annum Constantini principis. Et haec transtulit Ieronimus de graeco in latinum; et his idem Ieronimus addit de proprio a xx anno Constantini usque ad mortem Valentis. Ex hoc sequitur Prosper, et ducit historiam suam usquequo Roma capta est a Ienserico rege Affricae. Post ipsum incipit Sigibertus, Gemblacensis monachus, et ducit historiam suam a cccclxxi usque ad mc annum, quo anno Henricus I rex Anglorum coepit regnare. Illius historiae de serie temporum aliquid continuare conabar, incipiens a die quo Henricus I senior coepit regnare, et perduxit usque ad annum mclxxxii. Ipse siquidem ducit historiam novem regnorum insimul; ex quibus sex deficientibus, tria tantummodo duco, id est Romanorum, Francorum, Anglorum; et ego eum imitans, ista tria regna prosequor. De cetero supplico paternitati vestrae, ut habeatis memoriam, et sancta congregatio cui Deus vos praefecit de karissimo patre et domino meo Ricardo, Abridensi episcopo, qui in die beati Marci cessit in fata. Valeat bene et diu sanctitas vestra.'

²⁰ The *Continuatio Beccensis* has been edited in *Chronique*, ed. Delisle, vol. ii, pp. 165-80.

1182 Robert was still acting under the assumption that the annalistic tradition (or even historical writing in general) had ceased at Le Bec following his own departure twenty-eight years earlier. The abbot's request for a copy of the *Chronica* that covered merely twelve years or so thus must have struck Robert as somewhat peculiar. In fact in the initial request, which has not survived in writing, Abbot Roger had probably asked for even less than that. Roger died in 1179 (Le Bec's necrology dates his death to 25 September),²¹ so if it was indeed he who originally approached Robert, albeit through a middleman, this inevitably must have happened prior to his death in 1179, which means that the copy Roger asked for was actually supposed to span less than a decade. Much of this hinges, of course, on the letter's line of address. Delisle suggested that the opening words 'Domino et patri karissimo Rogerio' are simply a mistake,²² possibly implying that the original request was made, in reality, under Roger's successor, Osbern (1179-87).

This seems somewhat unlikely, however, given both the historical context and the letter's history of transmission (see above). For Robert himself to have addressed the original letter to the wrong abbot, who had died several years before, seems rather improbable. As abbot of Mont-Saint-Michel, Robert, arguably, would have been amongst the first to be informed about the abbatial succession at his old monastery. In fact, Robert has been shown to have taken a strong personal interest in Normandy's ecclesiastical prosopography, collating several extensive lists and catalogues of Norman abbots and bishops: most famously perhaps those that survive as non-autograph copies in Paris, BNF, MS. Lat. 6042, ff. 1v-2v and 121v-122v.²³ It seems safe to assume, therefore, that he would have been up-to-date concerning the person who held the position of abbot at Le Bec during the early 1180s. It seems much more likely that it was indeed Roger, rather than Osbern, who initially commissioned the copy of the *Chronica* at some point before his death in 1179. There is no reason to believe that this request was executed instantly especially if the *Chronica*, at that point, was between (unfinished) redactions. Indeed Richard Sharpe has argued compellingly that eleventh- and twelfth-century authors were keen to control the 'publication' of their works by trying to avoid, with varying degrees of success, the premature circulation of unfinished drafts or redactions.²⁴ As I will demonstrate below the *Chronica* was probably in precisely such a state, deemed unfit for immediate publication, when the request from Le Bec reached Robert at Mont-Saint-Michel.

It is perfectly possible that by the time (a) Robert had finished the subsequent stage within the *Chronica*'s composition, (b) he had commissioned a scribe to produce a fine copy, (c) that scribe had finished his task, and (d) Robert had inspected the fine copy and authorized its dissemination, considerable time had passed and Abbot Roger had died in the meantime. Like the letter, the copy of the *Chronica* in MS. Domitian A. VIII, ff. 71v-94v is also not the work of Robert's own hand, but that of a copyist: though in this case a contemporary one, who was working at Robert's behest or perhaps under his supervision. I have shown elsewhere that Robert, especially during the later decades of his career, delegated the vast majority of

²¹ Paris, BNF, MS. Lat. 13905, f. 76r, l. 13: 'vii kal. [Octobris] Dominus Rogerius VII abbas'. Also cf. the entry in the *Annales Beccenses*, edited in *Chronique du Bec et Chronique de François Carré*, ed. A.-A. Porée, Société de l'Histoire de Normandie (Rouen, 1883), p. 10: 'MCLXXIX. Moritur domnus abbas Rogerius, VII kal. Octob; rexit autem abbatiam Becci annis XXX, mensibus III, X diebus minus.'

²² *Chronique*, ed. Delisle, vol. ii, p. 340 n. 1.

²³ On Robert's role in the composition and use of these catalogues, see the recent study by V. Gazeau, 'Die Werke Roberts von Torigni: Eine Quelle für die Erstellung einer Prosopographie der nomannischen Äbte', in R. Berndt (ed.), 'Eure Namen sind im Buch des Lebens eingeschrieben': *Antike und mittelalterliche Quellen als Grundlage moderner prosopographischer Forschung*, *Erudiri sapientia*, xi (Münster, 2014), pp. 241-60. The *Annuary* and *Catalogus abbatum* (or *De abbatibus*) have been studied (and edited) by T. N. Bisson, 'The "Annuary" of Abbot Robert de Torigni (1155-1159)', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, xxxiii (2011), pp. 61-74; T. N. Bisson, 'On the Abbots of Le Mont-Saint-Michel: An Edition and Translation', *Haskins Society Journal*, xxii (2012), pp. 163-92. On Robert's engagement in the writing of prosopography at Le Bec, see also B. Pohl, 'The "Bec Liber Vitae": Robert of Torigni's Sources for Writing the History of the Clare Family at Le Bec, c.1128-54', *Revue Bénédictine*, cxxv.ii (2016), forthcoming.

²⁴ R. Sharpe, 'Anselm as Author: Publishing in the Late Eleventh Century', *The Journal of Medieval Latin*, xix (2009), pp. 1-87 (pp. 16-9).

his scribal work to secretaries or assistants whilst rarely putting pen to parchment himself.²⁵ It seems likely, therefore, that he would have dictated the letter that accompanied the *Chronica* to one of his amanuenses, perhaps even the same scribe who had already copied the rest of the manuscript. If this was the case – not only on this occasion but more regularly – then Robert probably would have concentrated on dictating the letter's main narrative content, whilst trusting his trained assistant to add the more conventional and formulaic elements independently, before despatching it. Such formulaic elements included, first and foremost, the letter's line of address, including both the sender's and the addressee's designation and official rank, as well as its closing salutation (featuring the obligatory *bene valete* formula).²⁶

There is even evidence to suggest that the assistant scribe, rather than Robert himself, might have been responsible for writing part of the letter's main content too. Indeed, the letter's summary of the contents of the book which Robert had obtained from the bishop of Beauvais ('Revera liber cronicorum Eusebii Caesariensis valde utilis est [...] quo anno Henricus I rex Anglorum coepit regnare') is lifted – more or less verbatim – from the prologue of Robert's own *Chronica*.²⁷ Whilst it leaves out tangential details such as, for example, the names of the fallen empires of the old world or the long titles of the Roman emperors (both of which are given in full in the *Chronica*'s prologue), the letter's large middle section thus essentially represents a simple copying exercise, which could easily have been done by a capable scribe on the basis of the *Chronica*'s working copy that was present at the scriptorium of Mont-Saint-Michel (MS. Avranches 159). Whether or not this was the case, it certainly strengthens the possibility that certain parts of the letter, and particularly its more formulaic elements, were not Robert's own work, and thus might have escaped his control as editor. I suggest, therefore, that the failure to 'update' the name of Le Bec's abbot in the letter's opening line should be attributed, not to Robert as author, but to his assistant scribe, whose primary concern arguably would have been to ensure the document's compliance with aesthetic and formal standards, but who naturally lacked his abbot's knowledge concerning the succession of individual abbots in Normandy's monasteries. Similarly, when a later scribe copied the letter into MS. Domitian A. VIII, f. 71r at the beginning of the thirteenth century, he too, evidently, did not notice the mistake.²⁸

²⁵ Pohl, 'Abbas', p. 78.

²⁶ F.-J. Schmale, 'Brief, Briefliteratur, Briefsammlungen, 1. Brief', in *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, 10 vols (Stuttgart, 1977-99), vol. x, pp. 652-6 (p. 652): 'Das Mittelalter kannte ebenso wie die Antike keinen besonderen Briefstil, es galten die allgemeinen Regeln der Rhetorik, die für das Mittelalter verbindlich blieben und vor allem seit dem 12. Jahrhundert verstärkt gepflegt wurden. Dabei setzten sich schon früh einige formale Gewohnheiten durch, die nach antiker Ansicht der Gesprächssituation entstammten: 1. Die Bezeichnung von Absender und Empfänger, in der Ausführlichkeit vom Rang der Korrespondenten und dem Grad der Förmlichkeit abhängig; 2. Eine Grußformel (z. B. "salutem" oder "salutem dicit"); 3. Der Schlußgruß ("vale"; "valete").' The best overview on the 'genre' of medieval letters is still provided by G. Constable, *Letters and Letter-Collections*, Typologie des Sources du Moyen Âge Occidental, xvii (Turnhout, 1976).

²⁷ See MS. Avranches 159, ff. 169v-170r; also cf. *Chronique*, ed. Delisle, vol. i, pp. 93-6. Robert dedicates considerable space in the *Chronica*'s prologue to justifying the usefulness of chronicles such as those he received from the bishop of Beauvais; see, for example, MS. Avranches 159, f. 169v: 'Therefore, one must not listen to those who say that books of histories, especially those written by people of orthodox faith, can be neglected. In this respect, as in several other matters, it holds true that (their) usefulness, whilst escaping the notice of the ignorant and fools, reveals itself only to the learned and observant' ('Non igitur sunt audiendi, qui libros cronicorum, maxime a catholicis editos, negligendos dicunt; in quibus tam utilis intentio, sicut et in ceteris tractatibus, generaliter habetur, quam vis idiotas et moriones lateat, appareat autem studiosis et perspicacibus'). Similar sentiments were also shared by other writers of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, for example, the author of the *Epistola contra eos qui dicunt cronicas inanes seu inutiles* (Douai, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS. 798, f. 2r), edited and discussed by S. Vanderputten, 'From Sermon to Science: Monastic Prologues from the Southern Low Countries as Witnesses of Historical Consciousness, 10th-15th Centuries', in W. Verbeke, L. Milis and J. Goossens (eds.), *Medieval Narrative Sources: A Gateway into the Medieval Mind, Medievalia Lovaniensia*, 34 (Louvain, 2005), pp. 37-54 (pp. 52-4).

²⁸ This version of events further nuances that proposed by *Chronicles*, ed. Howlett, p. 359, who argues confidently that 'when ready for transmission, the alterations to *Osberno* and to *lxxxij.* and *Mclxxxij.* were no doubt made in the copy, and the passage *Veniens – mitterem vobis* modified'.

With the letter thus identified positively as a later copy of a document probably made by one of Robert's assistant scribes at Mont-Saint-Michel, I now turn to scrutinizing the main text of the *Chronica* in MS. Domitian A. VIII, ff. 71v-94v. More specifically we must ask whether this version of the *Chronica* can really be identified as a discrete redaction of the text (as hypothesized above), and if so, when precisely this redaction was finished. The key to these important questions lies in the exemplar from which MS. Domitian A. VIII was copied. Once again the *Chronica*'s previous editors disagree fundamentally on this topic. Delisle argues that MS. Domitian A. VIII formed part of the *Chronica*'s 'third redaction' ('troisième rédaction'), together with seven other manuscripts, two of which he places in an immediate relationship with MS. Domitian A. VIII, namely Paris, BNF, MS. Lat. 4861 (from the Abbey of Lyre) and Cambridge, University Library, MS. Ff.I.31.²⁹ Delisle dates the *Chronica*'s first redaction (represented by seven manuscripts) to 1156/7, the second (six manuscripts) to 1169, and for the third redaction he provides three dates: 1182, 1184 and 1186.³⁰ I return to these dates below. Delisle further argues that all the manuscripts of the third redaction derive – either directly or indirectly – from MS. Avranches 159, Robert's working (but not autograph) copy of the *Chronica*. He considers MS. Domitian A. VIII to be one of four manuscripts that were copied directly from MS. Avranches 159. Howlett, by contrast, rejects this idea, based on the observation that MS. Cotton Domitian A. VIII 'often supplies better readings' than MS. Avranches 159.³¹ I will now show that Delisle was correct after all in assuming a direct filiation between the two manuscripts, and I will also refine his arguments concerning the chronology of the *Chronica*'s third redaction.

The text of the *Chronica* that survives in MS. Avranches 159 was not written down in a single session, but is the product of a long and complex production process, marked by continuous addition, revision and correction.³² It represents a collaborative enterprise that involved several scribes, correctors (including authoritative corrections made by Robert himself in the form of erasures and glosses) and rubricators.³³ It is the rubricators' work that holds the main clues as to the relationship between MS. Avranches 159 and MS. Domitian A. VIII. It is usually assumed that the copy of the *Chronica* in MS. Domitian A. VIII, f. 71v begins with an account of the year 1154, that is, the first annal that Robert had composed after having left Le Bec for Mont-Saint-Michel earlier that year.³⁴ However, the folio's opening paragraph – which begins with the marriage between King Louis VII of France and Constance of Castile and ends with the return of Archbishop William of York to England³⁵ – is actually accompanied by a rubric that dates these events to 1153 ('Anni domini mcliii'). Only the second paragraph bears the rubric for 1154 ('mcliiii') (fig. 4). Identical rubrics (in identical positions) also appear next to the *Chronica*'s text in MS. Avranches 159, f. 205r (fig. 5). Here, unlike in MS. Domitian A. VIII, f. 71v, the rubric for 1154 does not form part of the initial writing process, but represents a subsequent addition. This can be seen, first of all, by the fact that both the colour of the red ink and the width of the pen differ noticeably from those of the other rubrics by which it is preceded, both on f. 205r and on previous folios, as well as of those by which it is succeeded from f. 205v onwards.

That we are indeed dealing with a rubric that was inserted at a secondary stage within the manuscript production, that is to say, after the main text and the surrounding rubrics had been written, is made plain by other elements, too. Perhaps the most vivid piece of evidence occurs in MS. Avranches 159, f. 205r, three lines from the bottom of the page. Here, the rubric 'mcliiii' has been attached to the right-hand margin, whilst the first words of the same line show distinct signs of erasure. The red stains of the erased ink, still clearly visible on the parchment, allow

²⁹ *Chronique*, ed. Delisle, vol. i, pp. liii-iv.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. iii.

³¹ *Chronicles*, ed. Howlett, p. xlii.

³² See Pohl, 'Abbas', p. 52. Also cf. *Chronique*, ed. Delisle, vol. i, pp. xlv-liii.

³³ Pohl, 'Abbas', p. 60.

³⁴ D. Dumville, 'An Early Text of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae* and the Circulation of some Latin Histories in Twelfth-Century Normandy', *Arthurian Literature*, iv (1984), pp. 1-36 (pp. 30-1).

³⁵ Tcf. *Chronique*, ed. Delisle, vol. i, p. 282.

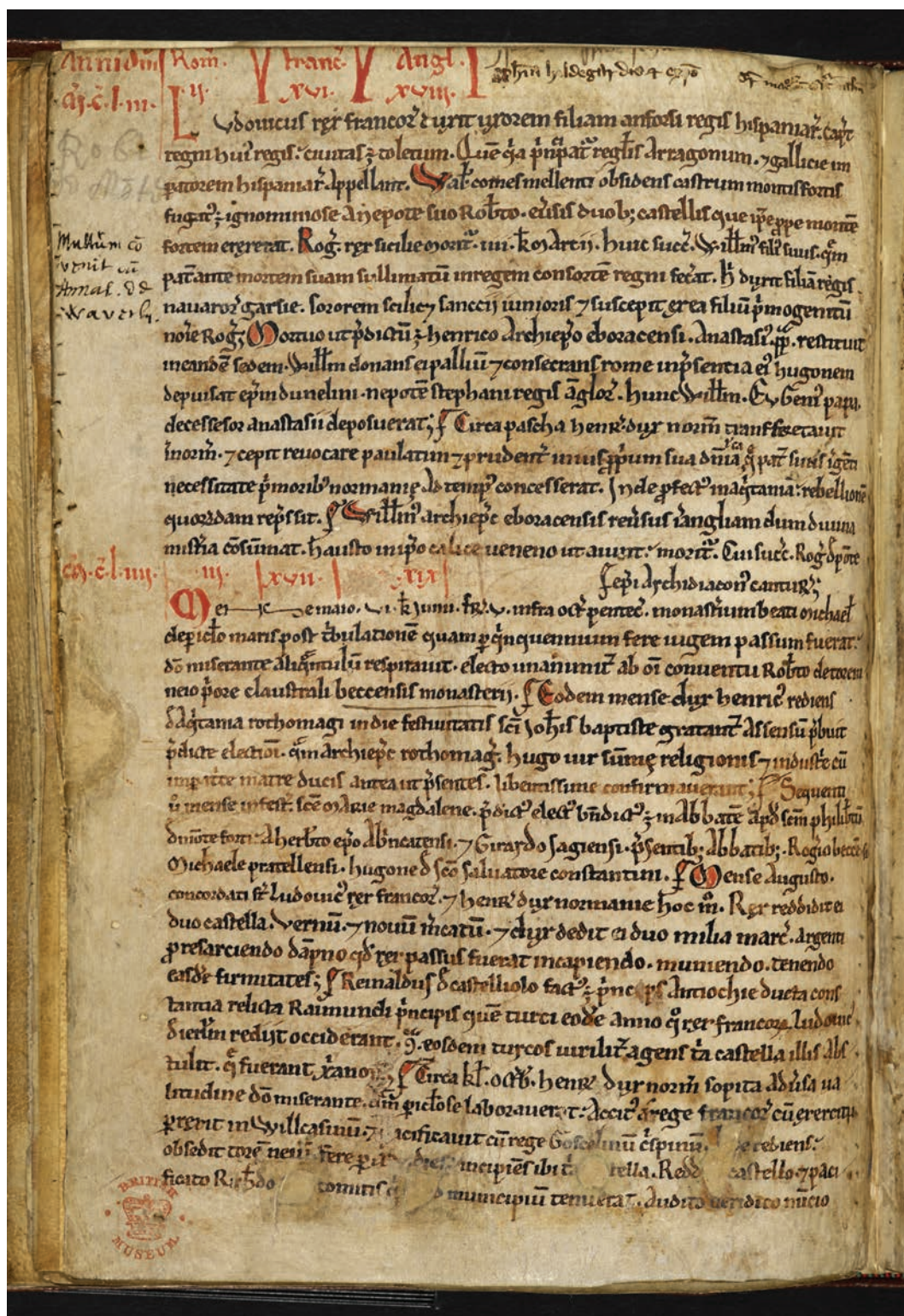


Fig. 4. London, British Library, Cotton MS. Domitian A. VIII, f. 71v (Copy of Robert's Chronica).

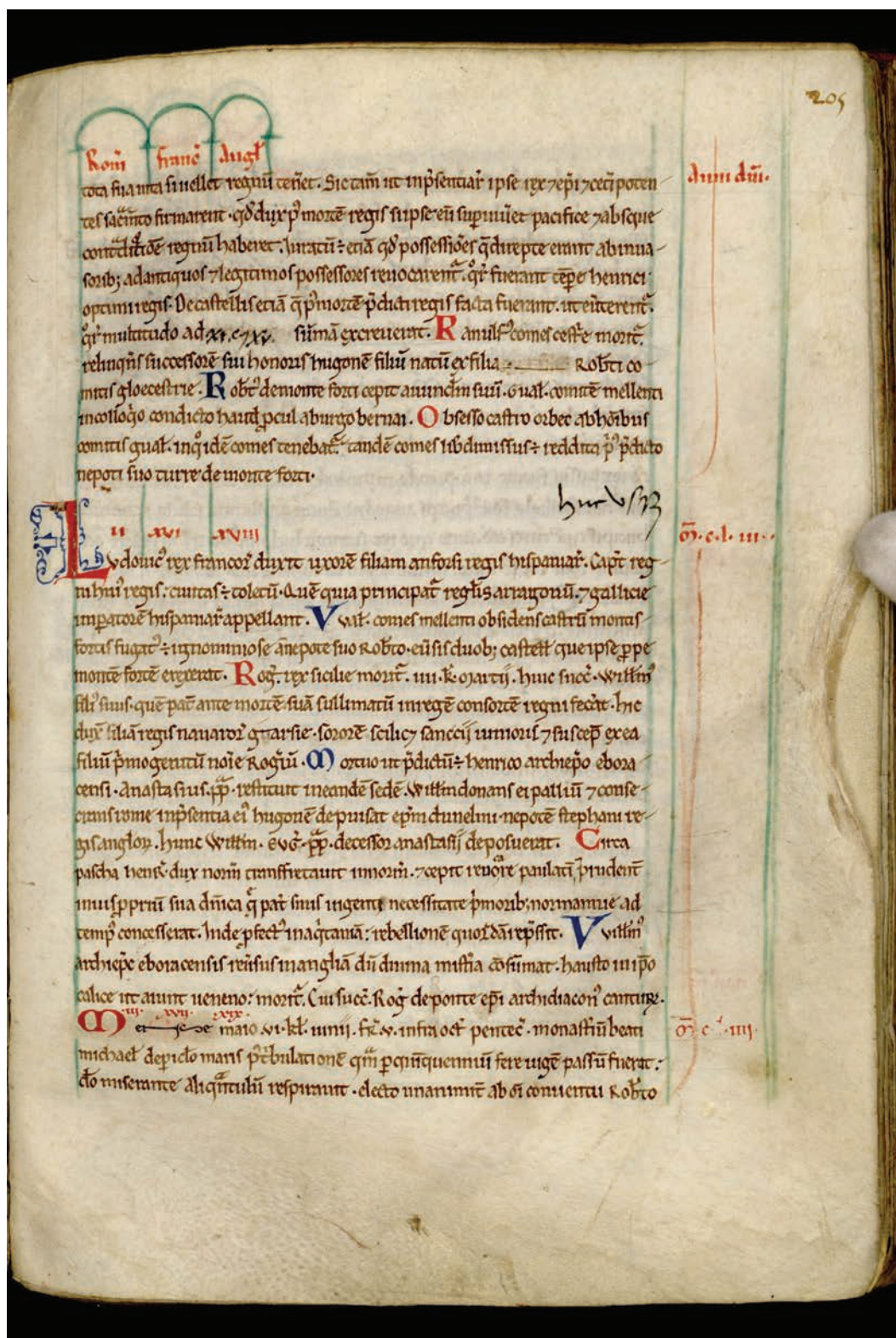


Fig. 5. Avranches, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS. 159, f. 205r (Working copy of Robert's *Chronica*).

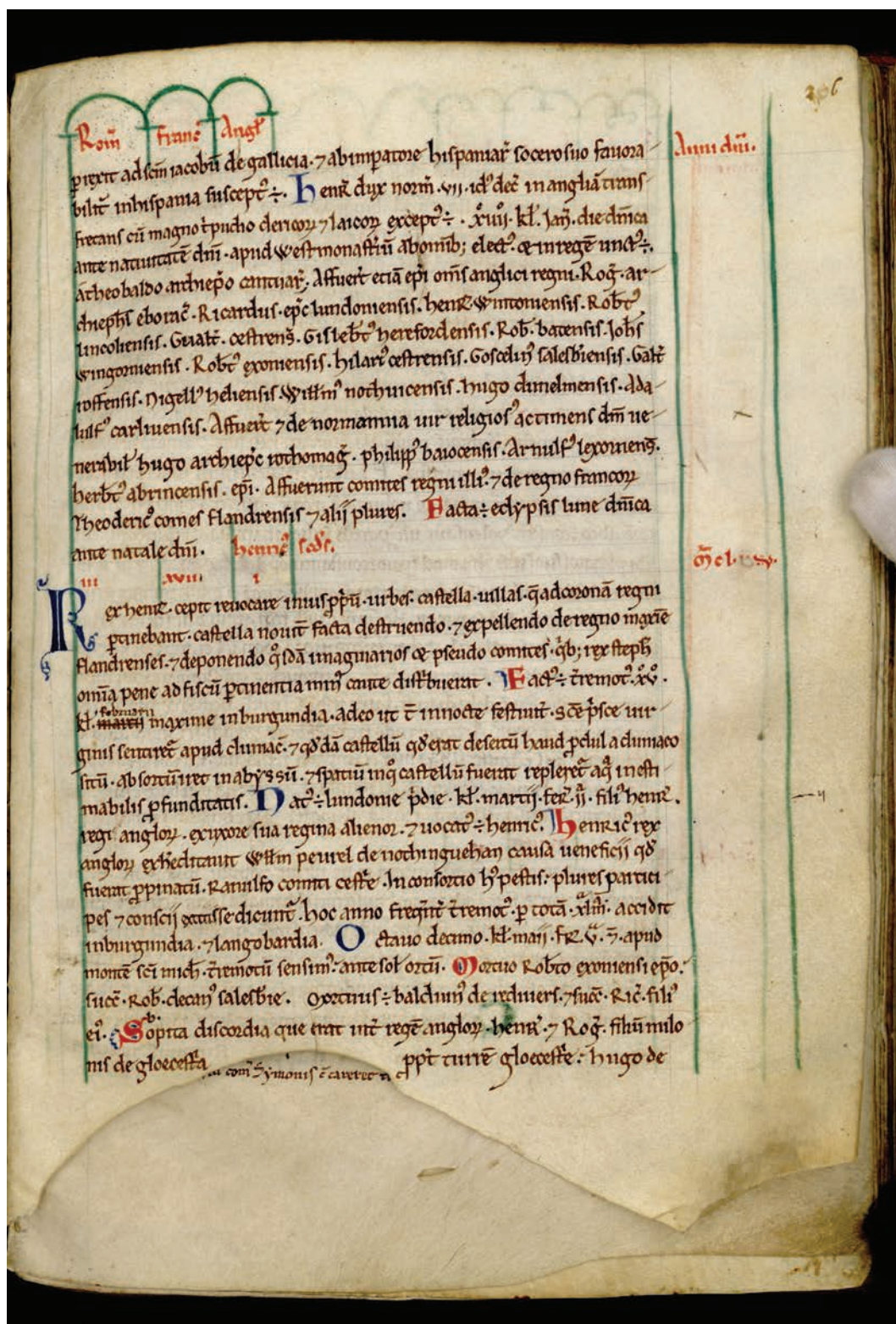


Fig. 6. Avranches, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS. 159, f. 206r (Working copy of Robert's Chronica).

us to identify the outlines of a large coloured initial 'M', almost perfectly alike with that which was inserted about an inch or so to the left after the erasure, and which now marks the beginning of the line (see fig. 5). The two words it replaced were '-ariensis' and 'Mense', the first of which had originally formed the second part of the word 'cantuariensis' ('of Canterbury') that we see at the end of the previous line. In order to compensate for the erasure, these eight letters were now condensed into an abbreviation which was then attached to the end of the previous line. The ink and handwriting exhibited by this abbreviation are different from those of the main text. However, the scribe forgot to include the medial 'a', so that the abbreviated word now reads 'canturiensis' [*sic*]. At the same time as (mis-)abbreviating the word 'cantuariensis', the same scribe also repaired the gap that had resulted from moving the initial 'M', by artificially lengthening the middle letters ('n' and 's') of the word 'Mense'.

If we turn to MS. Cotton Domitian A. VIII, f. 71r we can see that both these measures (including the mistake) were repeated, in completely identical fashion, by the copyist of this manuscript. The word 'canturiensis' [*sic*] now forms the end of a separate paragraph whilst the rubric for 1154 has been incorporated neatly into the layout of the page (see fig. 4). What is more the elongated letters of the word 'Mense' have also been reproduced faithfully, even though they no longer fulfil a practical function, but seem to have been adopted for purely aesthetic reasons. This serves to prove, beyond a reasonable doubt, that MS. Domitian A. VIII was indeed copied directly from the corresponding folios in MS. Avranches 159 after the 1154 rubric had been added and the erasure and 'correction' executed. In order to confirm the date of MS. Domitian A. VIII we thus need to know when, precisely, these modifications were introduced into the exemplar. First of all, we must ask why the scribe chose (or was commissioned) to erase one and a half words at the bottom of MS. Avranches 159, f. 205r only to replace them with the self-same content? The answer seems to be that the introduction of a new annual rubric halfway through an existing paragraph called for some sort of internal division that needed to be demarcated both textually and, perhaps more importantly, visually within the *mise en page*. Prior to this division the coloured initial 'M' at the beginning of the word 'Mense' had been merely one in a series of 'minor initials' (a sub-category of *litterae notabiliores*) that marked the beginning of a new sentence and alternated between red and blue ink.³⁶ Now, by contrast, it had acquired a new, more important function, which was equivalent to that of the decorated initial 'L' further up the same page included to mark the beginning of the new annual chapter.

Surely, though, the subsequent insertion of the new rubric for 1154 into a pre-existing chronological layout would have caused considerable disruption, given that the *Chronica* in MS. Avranches 159 would already have contained an entry for this year, and now suddenly featured two identical rubrics dedicated to the same year? Indeed this is precisely what seems to have been the case. The rubric preceding that for 1154 on f. 205r, and which now reads 'mcliii', also shows signs of erasure. Originally, this rubric also read 'mcliiii'. Curiously, the next rubric (on f. 206r) that now reads 'mclv', and which has also been subject to partial erasure, likewise, previously read 'mcliiii' (figs. 6, 7). This means that before the scribal interference the manuscript already featured two rubrics for the same year. The most likely explanation for this is probably to be found in Robert's 'promotion' from prior of Le Bec to Abbot of Mont-Saint-Michel in 1154 (the date of his election is 27 May). Robert's new vocation, which required a permanent change of residence, is known to have interrupted his writing of the *Chronica*. David Dumville believes that Robert had just finished the annal for 1153 when he left Le Bec, whereas, that for 1154 was still in an unfinished state.³⁷ This seems plausible and helps to explain why there came to be

³⁶ On the hierarchy of decoration within the *mise en page*, see M. B. Parkes, *Their Hands before our Eyes: A Closer Look at Scribes: The Lyell Lectures Delivered in the University of Oxford, 1999* (Aldershot, 2008), p. 10; M. B. Parkes, 'Layout and Presentation of the Text', in N. J. Morgan et alii (eds.), *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, 6 vols (Cambridge, 1999-2011), vol. ii, pp. 55-74; R. Gameson, 'English Manuscript Art in the Late Eleventh Century: Canterbury and its Context', in R. G. Eales and R. Sharpe (eds.), *Canterbury and the Norman Conquest: Churches, Saints and Scholars, 1066-1109* (London, 1995), pp. 95-144 (p. 129).

³⁷ Dumville, 'Early Text', p. 31.

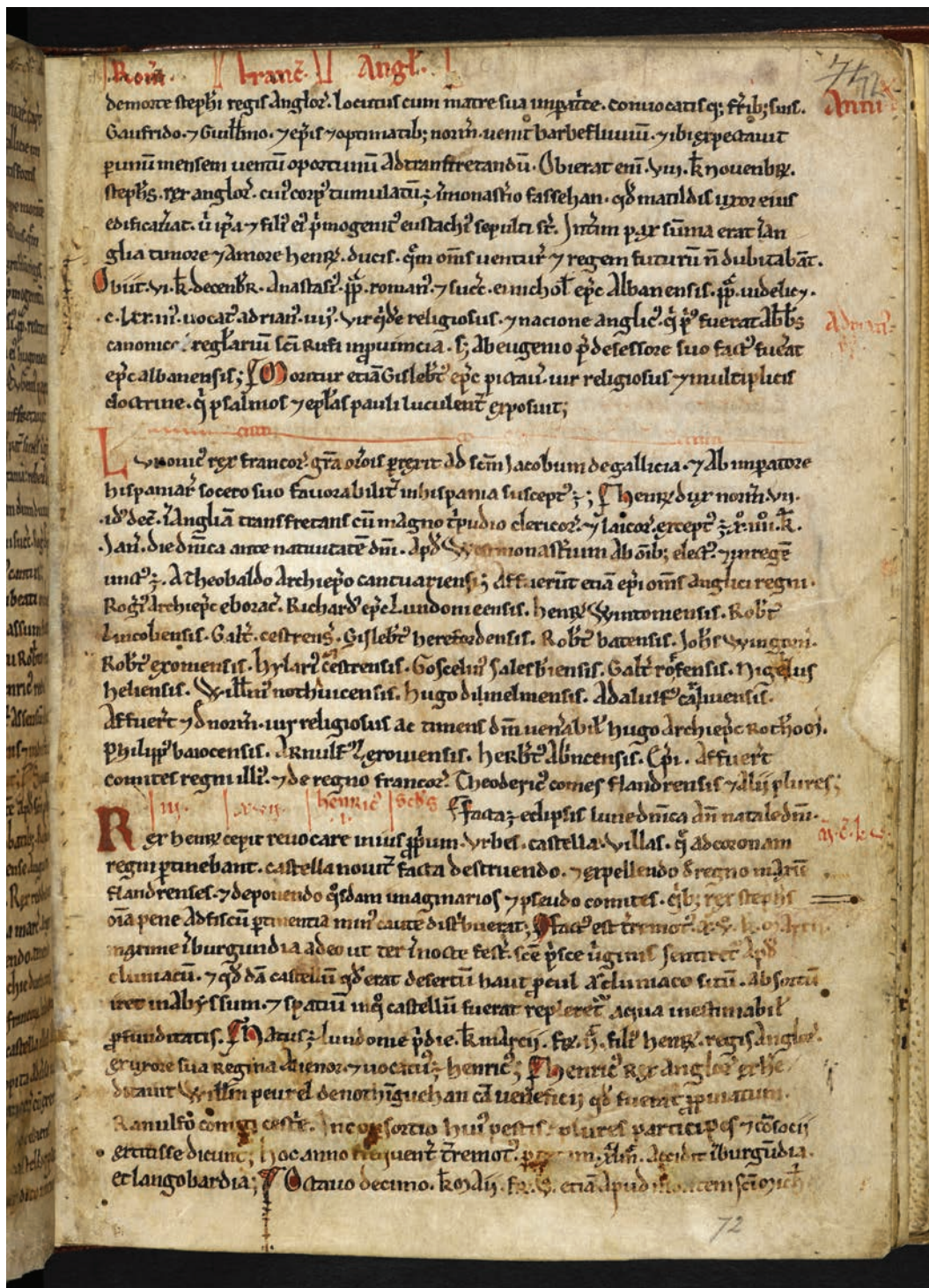


Fig. 7. London, British Library, Cotton MS. Domitian A. VIII, f. 72r (Copy of Robert's Chronica).

two chapters – and consequently two rubrics – dedicated to that year in the working copy of Robert's *Chronica*: one which represented what Robert had written during his last months at Le Bec, the other containing the additions made after his move to Mont-Saint-Michel.

It would seem, therefore, that the insertion of a new rubric for 1154 on f. 205r, followed by the respective amendment of the two previous duplicates, is indicative of a subsequent attempt to restore order to a previously ambiguous chronology. The rubrics discussed so far are not the only ones to show signs of correction and it is from the extent of this correction that we can identify the redaction's *terminus a quo*. The earliest rubric to have been corrected is that for 1140, which was lowered from 'mcxli' to 'mcxl', by the same hand that both introduced the 1154 rubric on f. 205r and changed the two adjacent rubrics.³⁸ Between the entries for 1140 (previously 'mcxli'), and 1146 (previously 'mcxlvii', f. 199v), our scribe subsequently reduced every single rubric by one. The year 1148 represents another special case, as this year too, was originally represented twice, that is, by two identical rubrics: first on f. 200r ('mcxlviii', lowered to 'mcxlvii') and again on f. 200v ('mcxlviii', increased to 'mcxlix'). This means that there was now no 1148 rubric left after the correction thus explaining why a new one was inserted – in a similar way to that for 1154 – on f. 200r. Can this duplication of the 1148 rubric perhaps be explained in a way similar to that presented above for the repetition of the 1154 rubric? In other words, was there a particular event, in or around 1148, that could have caused a temporary hiatus in the composition of the *Chronica*, analogous to that which resulted from Robert's election as abbot of Mont-Saint-Michel about half a decade later? The answer is yes and the event in question appears to have been Robert's first 'promotion' from simple monk to prior of Le Bec. As far as we know, Robert's priorate commenced in 1149, but it is likely that he would have been inducted into this new office over the course of the previous months when it became obvious that his predecessor would resign before long. It is tempting to suggest that this induction period covered at least part of the year 1148, causing Robert to pause his work on the *Chronica* until such time that he was firmly installed as prior, later the following year. As a result, Robert had to compose the *Chronica*'s annal for 1148 in two subsequent steps, separated by a hiatus of several months (maybe even a full year), which might explain why his working manuscript eventually came to contain two rubrics for that year.

In MS. Avranches 159 the *Chronica*'s rubrics for the years 1149-54 were all lowered by one. Those for the years 1154-82, by contrast, were all increased by one. This was done by the same hand and at the same point in time. The last rubric to show signs of correction is that on f. 231v, which was increased from 'mclxxxi' to 'mclxxxii'. From here on, the remaining rubrics appear unchanged. Throughout the final folios of the manuscript, the rubrics are written by a hand that is distinct from both the hand that wrote the original rubrics up to 1181/2 and that which subsequently corrected them as described above.³⁹ In fact, the year 1182 now has two rubrics, attached to two different

³⁸ The changes in this and some of the subsequent rubrics in MS. Avranches 159 was already noted, but not explained, by *Chronique*, ed. Delisle, vol. i, pp. 220 et seqq. Delisle fails to recognize a large number of these corrections, for example, that in the rubric for 1148, as well as all the changes from 1154/5 onwards.

³⁹ One of the main palaeographical features that distinguishes the hands of the two rubricators is their respective execution of minuscule 'x'. The scribe who corrected the rubrics for 1140-82 and added eighty-two years to the date of the *Chronica*'s prologue usually constructs this letter from two main strokes, one running from the top-left to the bottom right (resembling '\'), the other from the bottom-left to the top-right ('/'), or vice versa. These two strokes are executed crosswise (the second stroke running straight through the centre of the first = 'x'), and the letter is finished by adding a final tick to the top-right end of the second stroke (''). The scribe who wrote the remaining rubrics and amended the prologue's incipit, by contrast, constructs his miniscule 'x' in two alternating ways, both of which differ from the preferred ductus of his predecessor. The first option combines two vertically opposing curves, one convex, the other concave (resembling 'c' followed by 'c' = 'cc'), not necessarily connecting (or 'kissing') in the middle. Sometimes, the angularity of these curves makes them appear similar to '>' and '<' (= '><'). The second option is closer to that of the other scribe, as it begins with a stroke from top-left to bottom-right ('\'); however, rather than drawing a second long stroke through the middle of the first, this scribe then adds two separate short or half-strokes, one of which attaches below, the other above the centre of the long stroke. Quite often, the ends of these half-strokes do not connect, thereby creating a visible offset (see, for example, ff. 169r, 234r, 235v). Other letter forms that set apart the two hands include minuscule 'v' and the use (or lack thereof) of a descender on minuscule 'i' in final position.

paragraphs: the one we saw on f. 231v, and another on f. 234r. This duplication indicates that at some point, probably before the end of 1182, our correcting scribe went through the entire manuscript and brought it 'up-to-date' by amending all the rubrics between 1140 and 1182 (either by lowering or by increasing them) whilst also inserting two new rubrics for 1148 and 1154 respectively. His activity cannot be traced beyond the annal on ff. 231v-234r, originally labelled 1181, but corrected by the scribe so as to read 1182 instead. From f. 234r onwards, the remainder of the manuscript was written and rubricated by different scribes, commencing with the second of the two 1182 annals which records events from the later part of that year and begins by relating that King Henry II held court in Caen on Christmas Day 1182.⁴⁰ The scribes responsible for this annal, as well as for those of the following years, must have conducted their work after our scribe had finished his corrections as their rubrics flow seamlessly into those resulting from the earlier correction process. Indeed, it was the chronological revision undertaken by our scribe that made it possible for his colleagues to continue the *Chronica* with a correct timeframe from the second half of 1182 onwards.

This strongly suggests that the correction of the rubrics in MS. Avranches 159 was done by our scribe before the end of the year 1182. This date is cemented further by another correction that was made by our scribe to the *Chronica*'s prologue on f. 170r. Here, the same hand that corrected the rubrics throughout the manuscript amends the prologue's text as follows (fig. 8):

Therefore, as has already been said – and because the aforementioned Sigebert [of Gembloux] began his Chronicle with the year in the incarnation of our Lord 381, and continued it until the year of the incarnation of the same Lord 1100 –, I [Robert of Torigni] thus attempt, with the permission and help of the Lord, without which nothing can possibly be achieved, to bring together in an annual format an account of those events that happened in various provinces, but especially in Normandy and England, and which have come to my attention, until the year 1182 ('usque ad m^{um} cu^m lxxx^{um} ii^{um} annum').⁴¹

Prior to the scribe's intervention, the final line appears to have read 'usque ad m^{um} c^{um} l^{um} annum'. Having erased the letter 'l', he then added 'lxxx^{um} ii^{um}' to the end of the preceding line, thereby amending the date to 1182, the very year during which he undertook the chronological redaction and correction of the rubrics up to f. 231v. Meanwhile, the 'old date' of 1150 (or 'mcl') still features, together with the uncorrected rubrics, in some of the *Chronica*'s other copies, for example, Paris, BNF, MS. Lat. 4861, Paris, BNF, MS. Lat. 4862 and Paris, BNF, MS. Lat. 4992.

A few years later, another scribal hand, probably the same that wrote some of the final rubrics for the years 1182-6 in MS. Avranches 159, ff. 234r-236v, erased and corrected the end of the *incipit* that attaches to the beginning of the *Chronica*'s prologue on f. 169r. This *incipit* now reads: 'Incipit prologus Rotberti in ea quae secuntur de temporum descriptione [beginning of correction:] usque ad mclxxxiii'. This amendment was undertaken separately from, and later than, the correction of the rubrics in 1182. As a result we now have three separate points of termination indicated in the same manuscript. The first is the chronological revision of our scribe, who, as could be shown above, finished his corrections before the end of 1182, and who explicitly identifies the year 1182 as the end of the *Chronica*'s narrative in his amendment of the prologue on f. 169r; the second is 1184, the year which a subsequent corrector wrote into the *incipit* on f. 169r (whilst leaving the date his predecessor inserted on f. 170r unchanged); the third is 1186, the actual end of the chronological narrative in its final form on f. 236v. Taken together, these three dates, set apart from one another by intervals of merely two years at a time,

⁴⁰ Cf. *Chronique*, ed. Delisle, vol. ii, p. 117 n. 2.

⁴¹ MS. Avranches 159, f. 170r, ll. 24-30, my translation. For the Latin text, see *Chronique*, ed. Delisle, vol. i, p. 96: 'Igitur, sicut iam dictum est, quia praedictus Sigisbertus cronica sua incepit ab anno incarnationis dominicae ccc^olxxx^oi^o, et perduxit ea usque ad annum eiusdem divinae incarnationis M^{um} C^{um}, ego exinde, permittente at auxiliante Deo, sine quo nichil possumus facere, usque ad m^{um} c^{um} lxxx^{um} ii^{um} annum, ea quae in diversis provinciis, et maxime in Normannia et Anglia, evenerunt et ad meam noticiam pervenerunt, sub annis dominicae incarnationis colligere aggrediar.'

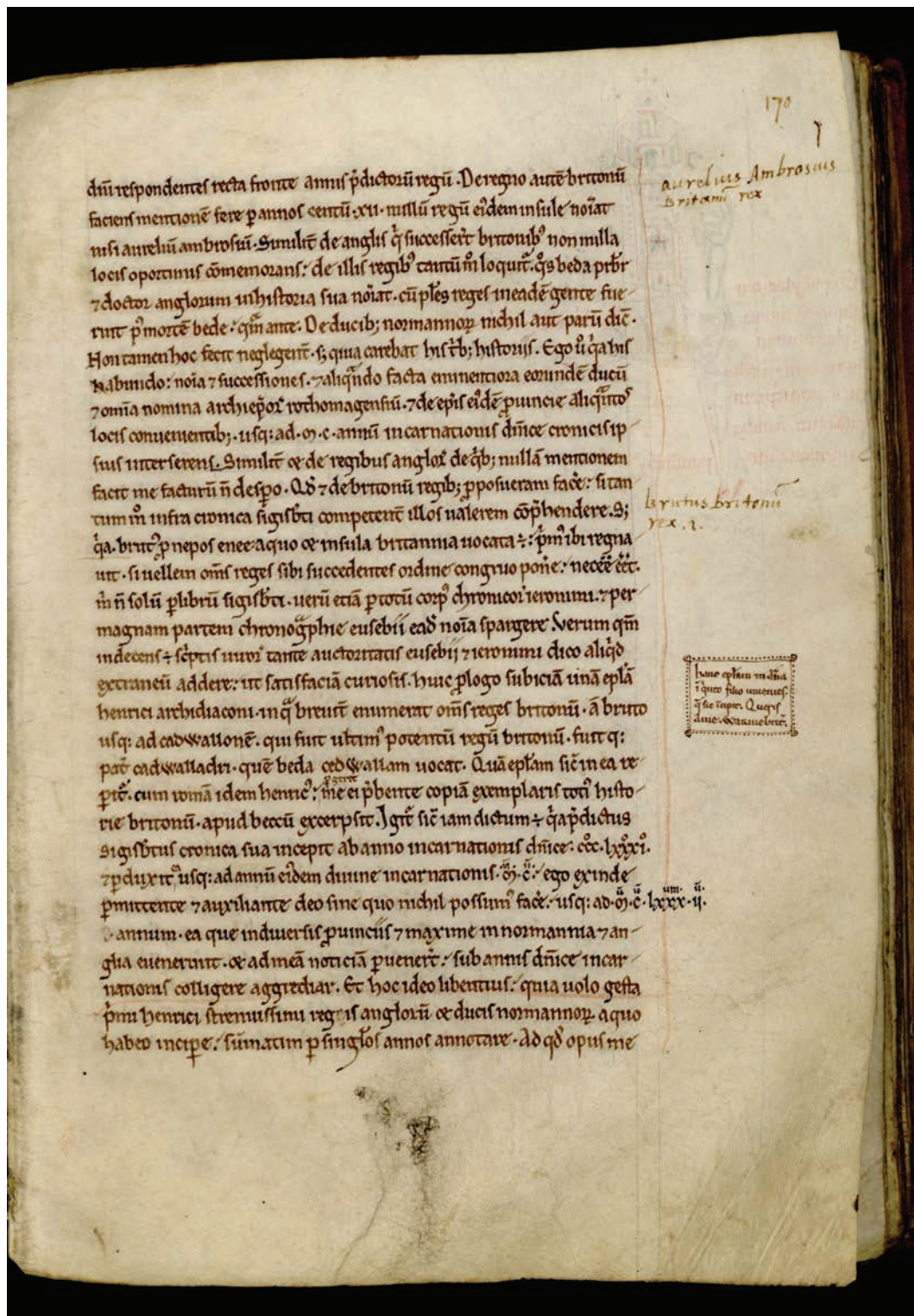


Fig. 8. Avranches, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS. 159, f. 170r (Prologue of Robert's *Chronica*).

indicate a period of increased scribal activity, when much attention was paid to the continuation of the *Chronica* during the final years of Robert's life. What is more, these three dates also correspond neatly to those which Delisle assigned to the *Chronica*'s third (and final) redaction.⁴²

Returning to MS. Domitian A. VIII we can see that all the rubrics, without exception, perfectly match those in MS. Avranches 159 after their amendment in 1182. This means that MS. Domitian A. VIII must have been copied from the *Chronica*'s working copy at Mont-Saint-Michel in or very shortly after 1182. In fact, MS. Domitian A. VIII is one of the very few early copies deriving directly from MS. Avranches 159 that include these amends, the other being MS. Cambridge Ff.I.31.⁴³ This is an important observation since it suggests fundamental ramifications for our knowledge concerning the *Chronica*'s manuscript tradition. Essentially it allows us to set apart MS. Domitian A. VIII and MS. Cambridge Ff.I.31 from the other manuscripts that Delisle once considered as belonging to the same redaction.⁴⁴ MS. Lat. 4861, MS. Lat. 4862 and MS. Lat. 4992 all reproduce the date given in the *Chronica*'s prologue and its annalistic rubrics according to the pre-1182 redaction. This provides satisfactory proof that these three manuscripts, contrary to established scholarly opinion, were copied at a different time – and based on a different redaction of the exemplar and its source text – than were MS. Cotton Domitian A. VIII and MS. Cambridge Ff.I.31. Finally, then, I will now return to the hypothesis presented earlier in this article.

It could be shown that the initial request for Le Bec's copy of Robert's *Chronica* was probably issued not under Abbot Osbern, but by his predecessor, Roger, who died in 1179 before the task was completed, at Mont-Saint-Michel. Given the evidence of the rubrics and other related 'dating tools' in the manuscripts that I have presented and discussed in this article, it seems likely that this request, humble and straightforward as it might have appeared to the monks of Le Bec, actually provoked a major revision and fundamental readjustment of the *Chronica*'s chronological layout. In attempting to extract the requested annals from the *Chronica*'s working copy, Robert and his scribes probably realized that the chronology in MS. Avranches 159 had become ambiguous, or even confusing, over the years: some rubrics appeared twice, others gave an incorrect date, and even the prologue was 'out-of-date'. This was not necessarily the result of bad writing or penmanship, but a natural consequence of the *Chronica*'s gradual composition, which spanned several decades and was marked by various interim redactions and revisions.

On at least two occasions, Robert's work on the *Chronica* experienced a major hiatus: first in 1147/8, when he advanced to the rank of prior, and again in 1154, when he was elected abbot and moved to another monastery. It surely is no coincidence to find that it is the rubrics for precisely these years that both occurred twice in MS. Avranches 159 thus compromising the chronological integrity of the narrative. Only after this had been fixed by the hand of a diligent scribe, who presumably was working under Robert's close supervision, was the copy for Le Bec finally commissioned. By the time it was finished and ready to be despatched, the person who had commissioned it had died and been succeeded by another abbot. Whilst Robert might have been aware of this abbatial succession at his old monastery, the copyist to whom he entrusted the writing of the covering letter probably was not, which is why today the name of the dead abbot still features, like a ghost from the past, in the letter's line of address. The fact that we can now establish with confidence a precise date and context for the writing of MS. Domitian A. VIII, which is based on the actual manuscript evidence, generates important knowledge concerning the chronology of the *Chronica*'s composition and dissemination during the later twelfth century. It improves our understanding of the processes that governed the redaction and revision of historiographical works such as Robert's, and it also casts new light on the seminal role of different individuals involved in their 'publication', including the author himself, his assistant scribes, copyists and rubricators.

⁴² *Chronique*, ed. Delisle, vol. i, p. iii.

⁴³ Like MS. Avranches 159, the *Chronica*'s prologue in MS. Cambridge Ff.I.31, f. 132r also features the corrected date 'usque ad m^{um} c^{um} lxxx^{um} ii^{um} annum'.

⁴⁴ *Chronique*, ed. Delisle, vol. i, p. liv. This also serves to invalidate either of the stemmas proposed by *Chronicles*, ed. Howlett, pp. xlvii-iii.